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CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, *i. e.*, The Initiative and Referendum.
Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.
Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.
Opposition to Trusts.
Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THERE is war in the air between the Fusion-Populists and the Democrats. High talk is passing. The Fusionists having named Towne for Vice-President insist that the Democrats ratify such choice at Kansas City by there formally nominating the Minnesotan as their own Vice-Presidential candidate. But the Democrats seem generally opposed to taking the ticket named for them by the Sioux Falls convention. Democrats who are professedly and outwardly supporters of Bryan are putting themselves in opposition to the nomination of Towne along with Bryan. And the Fusionists, heated, are charging

these Democrats with being moved by unpatriotic motives, with putting partyism before patriotism, aye, with disloyalty to their chief, Bryan. For, say the Fusionists, the turning down of Towne at Kansas City will make the defeat of Bryan inevitable at the polls if he gets the nomination. To all of which these Democrats respond, in a tone not softened by these charges, that they cannot be expected to let the Fusionists tie the tail on the Democratic kite, that the Fusionist tail is an eyesore to Democrats anyhow, and a generally poor thing to which it is evident few Populists would cling if it were tied on. For they have seen the representatives of the strength and sinew of the Peoples party assemble at Cincinnati and declare for everlasting war with the old parties, spurn the Sioux Falls convention and alliance with the Democracy. So they feel that the Democratic kite would fly steadier if the populist tail were cut off and a Democratic tail tied on. And one step further will lead them to feel, if they do not already, that the Democratic kite would fly steadier and higher if the kite itself were made over at Kansas City as well as a new tail tied on.

"OF COURSE," says the *Nonconformist*, the leading Fusionist paper of Nebraska, speaking of the ticket named at Sioux Falls, and demanding that it be ratified at Kansas City—"of course the time servers and compromisers will want to replace Towne with an Eastern man. Either a gold-bug prodigal who has come back after a piece of the fatted calf, or a military or a naval hero who has no political principles and wouldn't know what to do with them if he had. We want no such ticket as that, and we won't have it." And then, speaking as to Democrats, it adds: "If you turn down our man and make the ticket an uncertain quantity you will lose every Western state." Yet Democrats nominally for Bryan, though very likely to be opposed to him in fact as it is charged, are working to turn down Towne and suggesting the names of Eastern Democrats, not exactly prodigals, yet Democrats more of the Cleveland than of the Bryan school. Thus is the name of Congressman George B. McClellan of New York, rather a non-entity in Congress and in public life, suggested—and suggested in formal statement by Congressman Stallings of Alabama after a conference of Georgia, Alabama and New York members of Congress. "It is useless," says Stallings in this statement, "to think of electing a Democrat President without the 36 electoral votes of New York." Again is suggested the name of Judge Parker of the New York Court of Appeals, elected three years ago, running without a platform, with the support of the gold-Democrats, who, the year before had, voting for McKinley, given him the electoral vote of the state by 268,000 plurality. And if the Democrats would elect a President, says Stallings, they must carry New York and these gold Democrats will not vote for Bryan.

YET comes the warning from the Fusion *Nonconformist* of Nebraska that if the Democrats turn down Towne at Kansas City

they will lose every western state. And still, as if unmindful of this, Democrats go ahead suggesting names of Eastern men for Vice-President with the avowed purpose of turning down Towne. For they are beginning to see visions of electing the next President without carrying a western state.

Fusionist Threats.

"We cannot understand," says Senator Pettigrew, speaking for the Fusionists, "how any Democrat who really wants success can object to our choice"—that is Bryan and Towne. But Democrats do object to such choice for the very reason that they do want success.

Democratic Chances.

Indeed it is desire for success that is impelling many Democrats, who are classed as supporters of Bryan, to secretly work to turn him down as well as Towne. They realize that the Populist vote that they had in 1896 and which alone brought Bryan within gunshot of election is lost to them. In such case they feel that their one chance lies in winning back the gold Democratic vote which gave New York and Connecticut and New Jersey and Delaware and Maryland to Mr. McKinley in 1896. With such gold vote won back Mr. McKinley would not carry such states this year. And carrying such states and the solid South the Democrats could bring their candidate within an ace of election. If they could add Indiana they would elect him.

And how to win back this gold vote? With Bryan at the head of the ticket it cannot be won back. The one way for the

Why Democrats Long for the Turning Down of Bryan.

Democrats to win it back is to turn down Bryan and Towne, the Sioux Falls ticket, at Kansas City. With such ticket turned down and a ticket acceptable to the gold democracy put up Democratic leaders believe that victory would be brought within their reach.

AND as the Democratic leaders really want victory, and the majority are not of a kind to sacrifice victory, or what may appear to them to be their sole chance of victory upon the altar of principle, we look for the turning down of Mr. Bryan at Kansas City. And sincerely do we hope that he may be. Not that we have anything against Mr. Bryan personally, or that we wish him any bad luck personally, but because his turning down and the nomination of a Democrat of the Cleveland school, a Gor-

Why We Sincerely Hope He May Be.

man or an Olney, would open men's eyes to the insincerity of the Democracy, cause a division of the forces of plutocracy, so open the way to a triumph of the people. His nomination would be but a block in the way of that triumph, would but serve to divide the forces which would otherwise be united under the banners of Populism. Nominated, his election would be, humanly speaking, impossible, and even should he be elected his triumph would profit the people nothing for it would be a triumph of a party honeycombed with corruption, of a party that could be counted upon, despite its counter professions, to serve the plutocracy even so far and even so faithfully as the Republican party has.

This is why we want to see Mr. Bryan defeated for the nomination—because his defeat would cause a division in the forces of plutocracy, so prepare the way for the triumph of the people. For in such case, though Democrats do not admit the possibility of our breaking the solid south, or Republicans the possibility of our breaking the solid north, we believe the Peoples party would make great breaks, great inroads both south and north, win the electoral votes that might well elect the President.

To repeat, Mr. Bryan's defeat at Kansas City would divide not the forces opposed to plutocracy but the forces of plutocracy, the forces opposed to plutocracy it would

Why we Expect He Will Be.

bring together, it would make possible the triumph of the Peoples party this year. That is

why we want him defeated for the nomination. And, further to repeat, why do we expect his defeat? Because he would be a hopeless candidate.

As for Bryan we say again we have nothing to say against him personally—nothing excepting his disposition to dodge questions which shows him to be not a courageous leader. Indeed, are we led to say that Mr. Bryan is much the same character of man as the President.

As we believe the Boers have right on their side in their struggle with the might of the British empire, as we see in that struggle an instance of a great empire led by the spirit of

The Boers and American Sympathy.

greed into making war on a weaker people, a great empire taking the law of might not of right for its guide, following those paths along which empires of the past have coursed to their ruin, we have strongly sympathized with the Boers, rejoiced in their victories, been depressed by their defeats. Moreover, we have little doubt that the sympathies of the great majority of the American people have been and are with the Boers. And this being the case the pro-English sentiments of our Administration, especially of our Secretary of State, as evinced by various acts, presumably approved by the President, very probably brought the Administration into a certain degree of unpopularity.

Seeing this the Democrats sought promptly to make political capital out of it. And they have been playing politics with the Boer war until they have over-reached themselves, put themselves in such a ridiculous position that their very championship of the Boer cause is likely to cause a reaction of public sentiment favorable to the Administration. For, after all, our sympathies for the Boers are not such as to cause the American people to desire their Government to break its neutrality and interfere on behalf of the South African Republics. No one has seriously suggested such interference on our part; for such interference the American people would not stand. Our attitude is that of spectators viewing the struggle from afar, strongly sympathizing with the Boers, but with no thought of mixing up in the fight to help out those who have our sympathies.

SUCH being the case there was no chance that the Boer envoys who, after appealing to the courts of Europe in vain, came to the United States to solicit the intervention of the

Answer of the Administration to the Boer Envoys.

American Republic on behalf of their struggling compatriots, would succeed in their mission; there was no possibility that they should be given other answer by our Administration than that which was given. And that answer, that during the continuance of the regrettable war in South Africa we would observe strict neutrality, that there was no ground on which the Boers could base hope of intervention on our part in their behalf, no doubt gave satisfaction in London. But what other answer could have been given? The Democrats sought to avail of the coming of these Boer envoys to America to make political capital.

And Democratic Demagoguery.

And with such view they have systematically found fault with the Administration, for the reception it accorded the envoys, for the answer it made to their pleadings for intervention—an answer which was an absolute refusal, and that, as we have said, was no doubt received with satisfaction in London. But what other answer would such Democrats have had the Administration make? Would they have had the United States say to Great Britain stop, if you go further you will have the forces of the United States also to contend with? For this is what intervention means. It means a call upon a nation to stop further aggression upon a third party under threat that if it does not the forces of the intervening nation will be used to oblige it to stop. And a promise to take such course was the alternative answer that our Adminis-

tration might have given to the Boer petition, the alternative answer to that which was given. And would Democrats have had that alternative answer given, would they have given it if they had had the power? If so they are certainly not fitted to be entrusted with power. But such answer they would not have given if they had been required to frame the answer. If the responsibility of answering had been theirs they would have returned much the same answer that the Republican Administration returned, for the American people would have stood for no other.

It would indeed be open for Congress to pass such resolutions of sympathy for the Boers as would make the British feel that in making war on the South African Republics their course does not meet with our approval, if they care for such; that in pushing such war they are losing our regard and gaining our contempt, making more Anglophobes in America, losing defenders and friends. And some think that if Britain were made to feel this she would be led to give sober thought to her doings, come to recognize that she was fighting in the wrong, pressing an unjustifiable war and stay her hand. But we are inclined to think that by such resolutions of our Congress the British people would be thrown into a fluster rather than sober thought, that they would make answer in anger that they were indifferent as to what we thought, that our approval they cared aught for, that our contempt would not hurt them.

Again, if such resolutions were passed those who are not of the war party in England might point us to our course in the Philippines, ask us to apply our measure to our own conduct, see if we are not taking for our guide in the Philippines the same spirit of greed that we accuse the British of following in South Africa, see if our own course is so above reproach that we can afford to reproach others. And verily we who have been tempted to make a war of criminal aggression upon the Filipino peoples by the glamor of oriental trade cannot with good grace condemn the British because they have been tempted by the glamor of Transvaal gold into waging war upon the Boer republics.

If it was not that we ourselves had overstepped the rules of justice, made might a higher law than right, it is very likely that Congress would have passed resolutions expressing sympathy for the Boers and recalling Britain to a sense of the fact that she is placing might before right. But as it is our voice is paralyzed. The Democrats made the presence of the Boer envoys in Washington the occasion for presenting a resolution admitting such envoys to the floor of the Senate, a resolution that if passed would have been tantamount to a resolution of sympathy. But such resolution was voted down by a party vote. In the course of the brief debate over it Senator Tillman asked Senator Hoar if he "did not believe that it was the hypnotizing influence which has brought on our war of conquest, the disgraceful attitude which we occupy in the eyes of the world," that had kept the American Congress from pronouncing sympathy for the Boers. And Hoar replied: "I am bound to say that I think the attitude of this country with reference to the people of the Philippines has throttled and stifled the expression of sympathy that ought to go out to the Boer republics."

Out in the Philippines our troops are having all the trials of a guerrilla warfare in which their enemies show a lightning facility in transforming themselves from amigos into combatants and from combatants into amigos. In the effort to run down these guerrilla bands our troops are becoming widely scattered in small detachments, offering opportunities to the Filipinos for sudden attacks with overwhelming numbers, opportunities which they are persistent in availing themselves of though almost invariably worsted in the

resulting conflicts and with reported losses ten, twenty or a hundred times as great as they inflict. Organized resistance is said to be at an end but the pacification of the islands is far from an accomplished fact. Indeed our authority extends little beyond the places occupied by our troops. So soon as a detachment marches out of a town reported "pacified" does recognition of our authority in such town cease.

Yet just before he gave up his command and sailed for America General Otis approved and promulgated a detailed plan for "the immediate establishment of civil municipal government in the Philippines"—a plan, it is gravely stated, that grants to the Filipino people more freedom than they have ever enjoyed before, yet a plan under which the right of suffrage is restricted, first, to those who held office under the Spanish regime, second, to those who pay annually \$15 in gold or more in taxes, a sum equal to the wages that the ordinary Filipino can earn by a year's labor, a sum that only those who rank as rich men pay as taxes, and, third, to those who speak, read and write English or Spanish, that is some foreign language. This language clause, it is added, will prevent hundreds of thousands of natives from voting. Further, each elector must take an oath of allegiance to the United States. And then we read under this that "In so much as every Filipino living outside of Manila is in more or less danger of assassination by his countrymen if he takes the oath of allegiance to our country, this clause will prevent many men from qualifying to vote."

The Grim Humor of it.

And this plan is introduced with the statement that under it the Filipinos are granted freer suffrage than they have ever before enjoyed! What grim humor it all is.

We might add that this plan for the "immediate establishment of civil municipal government" is only to be established in such towns as the commanders of the military districts may see fit to pick out, towns in which conditions may be found favorable for giving fair trial to such plan and which are few.

So the situation in the Philippines must be, as a whole, far from satisfactory to the Administration. And then nearer home, in Cuba, the exposure of the gross peculations in the postal department, of the extravagant and careless way in which that department seems to have been run, is causing the Administration much worryment. The officers we sent down to Cuba to administer the postal

The Cuban Scandals.

affairs and lift up the tone of the public service, that honeycombed with corruption and stealings had fallen very low during the Spanish regime, appear to have gotten away with \$300,000 or more of public funds intrusted in their hands and thus given the Cubans a splendid object lesson of what the public officer ought to be. For, in sending Americans to Cuba to administer the public service did we loudly proclaim that by their precept and example they would teach the Cubans lessons in public morality, lessons much needed to be learned before they could safely be trusted with the reins of government. And here we have given them a lesson in peculation. And as the light is turned on this postal scandal does not appear to be the only one connected with our administration of Cuban affairs. There has been a railroad track laid of something short of six miles in length connecting the wharves of Havana with the general railroad system of the island. And this track, poorly constructed by all accounts, that eminent engineers estimate could have been built with profit for \$63,000, seems to have had \$340,000 of public moneys charged against it. Much does it look as if the construction of that railroad had been made the cover for stealings.

Yet we are hardly surprised at these exposures, hardly surprised to find that Americans appointed to the Cuban public service have made free with the public funds. For are not we taught, and is it not believed, that we hold colonies for the profit we can make out of them, in extending trade, exploiting their re-

And Their Lesson.

sources? And so is it not natural for officials sent to such colonies to do a little exploiting on their own behalf? The dream of getting rich by despoiling others is current, the purpose to so despoil is met with everywhere, seeds of corruption are in the air, a low tone of morality naturally comes to taint the whole air of public life. If we hold to our recent island acquisitions on the theory that it will pay, that we can make money out of our wards, what wrong for officials to make a good thing out of such possessions? There is a wrong, of course, but in such case those who fill places in the civil service will drift with the current, that current will be fouled with corruption and where the whole atmosphere is tainted public officials cannot be expected to escape the taint.

THE Republicans in Congress are making a show of themselves considering, or playing at consideration of anti-trust measures that they have no intention of passing. That the people can be fooled as to the position of the Republican party on the trust question by such playing for mere political effect we can hardly believe.

Republicans and their Anti-Trust Measures.

But the Republicans must believe that they can or they would not engage themselves with sham consideration of the trust question. Two measures have been reported to the House by the Republican members of the Judiciary Committee. One is a proposed constitutional amendment to confer upon Congress full power to deal with the trusts—an amendment accompanied with a report in which it is stated that "no power to repress or control monopolies of any kind is conferred on Congress by the Constitution, unless it be a monopoly to control interstate commerce, which may be doubted." Therefore the plain inference that Congress is without power to deal with the trusts and cannot be expected to until the Constitution is amended. But right after submitting to the House a proposed Constitutional amendment along with such report the Judiciary Committee, or the Republican part of it, reported an anti-trust bill, making the penalties imposed by the Sherman anti-trust law more severe, proposing to reach trusts by forbidding interstate traffic in trust goods and also by forbidding to trusts the use of the mails, or rather to reach such corporations, associations, etc., organized "for the purpose of monopolizing the manufacture, production or sale of any article of commerce"—a purpose for which no such corporation or association will admit it is organized. And to legally prove that any corporation or association is organized for such a purpose, although such may manifestly be its purpose, is not easy. Here then we have a law that if enacted would be difficult to enforce, which is radical but whose efficiency would depend almost entirely upon the energy exerted to enforce it. Let there be laxity in prosecution under it and it would amount to nothing, be a dead letter; let there be activity and persistent energy in the bringing and prosecution of cases and it might amount to a great deal.

And here let it be said that the Sherman anti-trust act amounts to nothing only because no effort is made to enforce it. And well may it be asked: what is the use of making more anti-trust laws if there is to be no effort to enforce those we have. As the Democratic members of the Judiciary Committee justly say in their report criticising the bill reported by their

And just Democratic Comment on their Insincerity.

Republican colleagues: "The Republican Committee's view of the matter . . . is that the thing needed is to impose severe penalties, on paper, upon those who are not prosecuted, to amend the law so as to make it abound in heavier fines, which the prosecuting officers of the Government will not try to have assessed, and longer terms of imprisonment for the offenders whom they will not try to indict." And then these Democrats go on to say that we are not suffering so much from a lack of anti-trust law or power to make law, as from a lack of officers willing to enforce the law, and, declaring that the tariff is the breeder of trusts, insist that the way to strike at trusts effectively

is to strike at their roots, repeal all protective tariff duties imposed on articles the home production of which is monopolized by trusts. And this is reasonable so far as it goes. Until we stop seeding trusts we will never be able to eradicate them by prosecuting them under anti-trust laws. But this seeding is not largely done by the tariff, it is done by our railroads. It is not done by a customs-tariff protective of the trusts, but through preferential freight tariffs protective of the trusts. And if you would abolish trusts the first move had better be to put an end to these preferential freight tariffs. But this the Democrats do not stand for. On the contrary they stand against it. For such move would be an effective blow at the trusts and Democrats have never been guilty of delivering such a blow.

It is worthy of note that the Democratic members of the Judiciary Committee oppose the proposed amendment to the Constitution that would, if adopted, give Congress the power to license trusts and provide for the carrying of Mr. Bryan's special plan for the curing of the trust evil.

MONEY continuing to come into the Treasury in excess of expenditures, Secretary Gage has prepared to cut down the consequently accumulating surplus by issuing a call for the presentation of the \$25,364,500 extended two per cent's for payment and redemption, announcing that interest will cease thereon on September 1st next.

These bonds are part of an issue of \$250,000,000 four and a half per cent. bonds issued in 1876 and falling due in 1891. But before due day \$200,000,000 of these bonds had been retired by purchase. Thus there were only left \$50,000,000 to be cared for at due day. And to the holders of these bonds was made the proposition, as alternative to paying them off, to extend such bonds at two per cent., such extended bonds to be payable at the option of the government. And of the holders of these \$50,000,000 of bonds holders of \$25,364,500 accepted this proposition. These bonds thus extended are the only ones payable at the option of the government and Secretary Gage now gives notice of a purpose to exercise this option.

Before the national bank act was amended by the act of March 14th last these bonds were favorites with the banks, for the banks that had such bonds to deposit as security for circulation could take out circulation without locking up any large amount of capital in the shape of premiums which the other bonds commanded. Naturally, nearly all these bonds became domiciled with the banks and deposited as security for circulation. But with the passage of the act of March 14th these bonds ceased to be favorites. For that new act created new two per cent. bonds and provided that circulation secured by such new two per cents should only be taxed at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ of one per cent. per annum, while circulation based on the old two per cents, as all the old bonds, was left taxable at the rate of one per cent. So there began, on the part of the banks, a substitution of new two per cents for the old as security for circulation. As a result only about \$16,000,000 of the old two per cents are to-day pledged as security for circulation. About \$3,000,000 more of them are pledged by the banks as security for government deposits.

National Educational Association, Charleston, S. C.

Round trip tickets to Charleston, S. C., via the Southern Railway, account of the Annual Meeting of the National Educational Association will be sold on July 5, 6, 7 and 8, good to return until September 1, at rate of one first-class fare plus Two Dollars membership fee. Stop-overs will be allowed, both going and returning, on all tickets reading via the Southern Railway.

The route of the Southern Railway passes through the historic battle-grounds of Virginia and the Carolinas and affords excellent facilities for reaching Charleston and seeing en route the agricultural and manufacturing industries, as well as the principal commercial cities and resorts of the South.

Chas. L. Hopkins, District Passenger Agent, Southern Railway, 828 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, will be pleased to furnish all information desired.—Advt.

OUR PLATFORM.

AS a succinct statement of the tenets of the Peoples party, of the demands of a party whose guiding principle is that it is safe to trust the people to do their own governing, Populists will find the platform adopted by their convention at Cincinnati highly acceptable. No exception will be taken to it by good Populists; it must win the approval of all believers in popular government who will take the pains to carefully peruse it. For the spirit that breathes in that platform is trust in the people. In that spirit was it written, it is that spirit which pervades it.

The aim of the Peoples party is to uplift all mankind. It recognizes the truth proclaimed in our Declaration of Independence that governments ought of right to be instituted for this end, that governments not so instituted have by nature's law, not the law of kings, no right to exist, that such ought not to be perpetuated but destroyed. It holds that to uplift mankind governments must institute on earth a rule of justice and love. It holds this as a truism. It knows that to place power to rule over the many in the hands of a few is to subject those few to temptation, it recognizes that when men are tempted they are prone to fall, for the best of men are frail. It feels therefore that putting the powers of government in the hands of one or of a few, subjecting men to temptation, must lead to a rule of greed rather than of justice and of love, a rule such as must lead to the degradation rather than the upliftment of mankind.

So does the Peoples party scorn the idea of government by the Divine right of kings even as the framers of the Declaration scorned such idea. The Peoples party believes in a higher law of government. It believes that all men are by Divine right sovereign, that no man has a Divine right to rule over his fellows. It believes that no man should be subjected to temptation by being given exclusive powers of government over others. For is it not our constant prayer that we may be delivered from temptation, and as such is our prayer should not our aim be to deliver others from temptation, not put temptation before them? And such is the aim of the Peoples party. As its mission is the upliftment of all mankind so its aim, as the means to this end, is the establishment on earth of a rule of justice and love. And such rule it feels cannot be established until there is in fact a government of the people, by the people; a government in which those chosen to serve the people shall not be superior to the people, shall be stripped of power to thwart the people's will, shall be servants, honored and well paid, but not rulers.

The Voice of the People the Voice of God.

Let the power of government rest with the whole people, and it will be to the interest of the governing force to establish a rule of justice and love, for such rule will tend to the upliftment of the whole, any other rule will tend to the injury of the whole, and there will be no temptation to establish other than just rule. And then may the establishment on earth of such rule as will uplift mankind be counted upon. Deliver men from temptation and they will not do wrong. This is the cardinal truth on which men have founded their belief in democratic government as superior to autocratic. This is the truth on which this republic was reared, this is the truth on which the Peoples party builds. It is building on this truth that it puts trust in the people, that while disclaiming as absurd the doctrine that the king can do no wrong, it is ready to assert that the people can do no wrong, that while spurning as time-worn and sacrilegious the claim that the Voice of the King is the Voice of God, does proclaim that the Voice of the People is the Voice of God. For God works on earth through His creatures. Through us He works out His purposes. When in serious mood and recognizing our own utter insignificance in the presence of God's great works we ask ourselves: what are we here for? the answer in the word of our Saviour is given us, an answer which we cannot look behind but which with all its inscrutable-

ness is satisfying to our reason: to work for the upliftment of our fellow men, to train ourselves in ways of justice and love and brotherhood, so prepare ourselves for a future life, a future sphere of usefulness. And as children of a great common Father, some of us worthy as some are unworthy, witnessing the beautiful harmony and purity of nature's works that surround us, exalted by the thought that men, too, by their nature must be inherently pure and exalted in purpose, that it is temptation alone that has made some of us unworthy, that removal of temptation must purify and regenerate the world, that the placing of the powers of government in the hands of the whole people and in such way that such powers need never, even temporarily, pass out of their hands must largely put an end to the temptation to do wrong as a factor in our own system of government, leave only the temptation to do right as a factor influencing our governing force, the whole people, we feel that in the voice of that whole people would ever be heard the voice of right, of justice, of love—the voice of God.

Direct Legislation.

Thus it is that the Peoples party puts its trust in the people and builds on that trust. Thus it is that it is ready to say that whatever the people ordain will be for the best, ready to proclaim that where there is a people's government there will be a government superior to evil temptation, a government that will establish a rule of justice and of love—the rule that paves the way, that is requisite to the upliftment of mankind.

It sees that a people's government, a government in which the governing powers are never passed beyond the control of the people, we have not now; that we will never have such a government while the supreme power is passed for stated periods to chosen representatives, who once chosen have power to do what they will—never have such a government until by reservation there rests with the people power to pass by direct vote and at any time, over the heads of their representatives, any legislation that such representatives may refuse to pass; until there rests with the people power to veto by direct vote any legislation not to their liking that their representatives may pass; until there rests with the people power to recall by direct vote, at any time, any representative, any servant chosen by the people, who may persistently work counter to their will, defy public opinion. But it is such a government that the Peoples party pledges itself to see established. It proposes to re-shape our system of government so that such powers of direct legislation, veto, and recall of unworthy servants, shall rest with the people, so that the will of the people shall be law and then it has faith that there will be just law. At present, having chosen their servants, the people are powerless to have their will done if their once chosen servants refuse to do it, powerless to prevent the doing of things counter to their will. For their servants once chosen they have no power to give orders to them, no power to dismiss them before the expiration of stated periods—not even though those servants may be profiting themselves by sacrificing the interests of the people. What is more, and worse, when they choose their servants they part with the power to do things for themselves which their servants may refuse to do for them, absolutely tie their hands so that their servants become their masters. And this is all wrong. The Peoples party insists that when the people choose servants they should retain this power, the power to act for themselves if their servants refuse to act as they direct; it insists that when they elect their servants they should retain the power to dismiss such servants when they prove unfaithful to their trust. For the people to surrender such powers is but to put powers in the hands of their servants such as subject those servants to fearful temptation, is but to invite the corruption of those servants. It leads to a degradation of the public service as it is fraught with evil for the people.

Deliver our Servants from Temptation.

As things are now, whenever the people may demand the

enactment of legislation that some corporate interests, that have fattened on the enjoyment of special privileges, may look upon as inimical to them, the people's chosen legislators, who have the sole power to pass such legislation, will be subjected to great temptation. For if the corporate interests can buy such legislators they can defeat the people's will. But if such legislators had not the sole power to pass legislation, and they ought not to have; if the people themselves possessed the power by petition and then direct vote to enact such legislation if their representatives halted, then the corporate interests could not defeat the will of the people by corrupting their representatives, then the temptation to corrupt such representatives would largely cease, then such representatives would be freer than now, more worthy public servants.

Again, as things are now, whenever corporate or other interests may seek some grant of power, some valuable privilege that in the interest of the public ought not to be given away but which it is in the absolute power of the people's legislators to give away, such legislators will be subjected to great temptation. For by buying such legislators such corporate interests can buy valuable grants, buy special privileges, buy value. But if by petition the people could require the submission of any act passed by their legislators to a direct vote, and by a majority vote then cast veto such act, then by buying such legislators the corporate interests could not buy things of assured value, if they bought such legislators would likely find they had bought a gold brick, and such legislators would not be tempted as now.

Further, the legislator or public servant who now betrays a public trust reposed in him is not subject to dismissal until the expiration of the term of office for which elected—unless indeed by impeachment proceedings, which cannot be made to cover all forms of betrayal of public trust, and brought before a legislative body likely to be amenable to the same influences that have caused such public servant to go amiss. If such servants were subject to dismissal, that is if the people could vote them out of office as they vote them in, such servants would be like to think more of retaining the good will of the people than of such rewards, blandishments, bribes as the corporate interests and others may offer to them for a betrayal of the trust reposed in them. For in such case they could not long retain office without retaining the good will of the people; now they can—can serve the corporate interests regardless of public protest. And so are they often strongly tempted to do so hoping such protest will blow over before election day, before the opportunity is offered to the public to vote them out of office.

So does the Peoples party give the demand for direct legislation, for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate first place in its platform. It does this mindful of the mandate to remove temptation from the paths of our servants, mindful of the truth that with temptations removed our servants would be truer servants. It does this because with the people given power to do for themselves, by petition and direct vote, what their chosen legislators may refuse to do for them, and to veto, in the same way, acts that their legislators may pass counter to their wishes, we will have a true people's government in which the will of the people will be law and because from such a government will emanate a rule of justice and love. And that such a rule would emanate from such a government the Peoples party does not doubt. It has faith in the inherent uprightness of the people and it recognizes that self-interest must impel the people acting as a whole to an upright course, for only by a course of uprightness can the whole people prosper; other course must work them injury.

Trust Ye and Love Ye One Another.

So the Peoples party puts trust in the people, makes this its cardinal tenet. It believes the time has come for the observance of this mandate: Trust ye and love ye one another. It believes that men can afford to observe this mandate. Aye, it proclaims

that the people cannot afford not to observe this mandate, that the government that will result in the upliftment of mankind must be founded on this mandate, that a government of the whole people must of necessity be such a government. Thus its platform opens with a demand for the establishment of such a government, a government in which the will of the people shall be done. Thus it is that its platform rings with the note: trust the people and justice will be done, evil banished.

It holds that the judgment of the people as to what is right and what is best can be depended upon. It proclaims its faith that what the people judge it right to do ought to be done. It believes the voice of the people is as infallible as any earthly thing can be, aye, it is ready to recognize in that voice the voice of God. We demand the public ownership and operation of such means of communication, distribution and production as the people may elect, reads its platform. It believes in the government ownership of our railroads as demanded to put an end to the gross abuses gathered around the manipulation of transportation rates, the doctoring of reports and the watering of capital with a view to despoiling producers and fleecing investors, and does not doubt that as between private and public ownership the people would elect for the latter if given the chance. And so also as to telegraphs, telephones, monopolies resting on public franchises and public utilities in general. Let the people rule, give them power so that their representatives cannot thwart their will, and the Peoples party believes that injustice bound up with our transportation system, our monetary system and our system of taxation will cease to be longer tolerated or permitted to exist, that a transportation system in the hands of the government, that will render justice to all, will replace the system under which equality to shippers in the granting of rates has been an unknown thing and trusts have been bred, that a just monetary system will be reared in the place of the unjust system that we have, that an equitable system of taxation will take the place of the present inequitable one.

Reform of Our Railroad System.

Our railroad system has been used as a great engine of despoilment as well as of distribution and the same can be justly said of our monetary system. Those who now enter into business cannot be sure that they will be granted as low transportation rates, both in the assembling of their raw materials and in the distribution of the finished products, as their competitors in the same locality or competitors in other localities. And if they do not get as low rates they are placed under a handicap, a handicap that must be crushing where there is great weight of materials to be transported and freight payments cut a large figure. Thus by a regulation of freight rates the railroads can and do crush out industries. And in the natural order of things they crush out those industries that do not in one shape or another pay tribute to those who manage the railroads; crush out industries in the interest of those in which the men controlling the fixing of freight rates have a direct or indirect stake. The result is that we have a fixing of transportation rates in a way that tends to create monopolies, centralize industries, so breed trusts.

Further, we not only have a crushing out by the railroads of enterprises that are competitive with others in which railroad managers, or rather those controlling the policy of railroads have an interest in seeing prosper, but we have whole localities put under crushing handicaps, such as often rudely stop their growth, cause depreciation of property, demoralize values. And such demoralization, thus caused, offers splendid opportunities for those controlling the policy of railroads to pick up properties at bargain prices and make handsome profits. For such bargains picked up those controlling the policy of railroads have an interest in seeing the locality in which such are situated prosper, and they have it in their power to give value to such bargains. They have merely to re-arrange freight rates with this in view.

As a result of such manipulation the interests of some railroads may suffer, indeed are likely to suffer. We might add that in many cases they are intended to suffer, though when this is the case we may be sure that the prime manipulators have ceased to be interested as holders of the junior securities of such roads, and are in position to profit from those railroads passing through the bankruptcy and re-organization mill.

Further, we have had in this country a general overcapitalizing of railroads with the double purpose of deceiving the public as to the rate of interest earned and paid on the capital invested in railroads, making it appear much smaller than it really is, and, second, of fleecing investors. And to the end of fleecing investors railroad accounts have, in many cases, been shamefully kept—kept so as to hide the true conditions and lead the investing public astray. Thus moneys expended in keeping up the permanent way and rolling stock, moneys not spent in adding to the value of the property but merely in keeping up the value of the property, and that should be charged to expense account and against earnings, have been charged to capital account, thus making the apparent operating expenses small, the net profits, applicable to payment of interest and dividends on capital, large. Indeed this has been a rather common practice where the immediate aim has been to work off watered capital on the public, lead investors to part with good money for next to valueless securities. Such accounting, the resulting figuring out of large earnings, and the making of large dividends reported as earned but really paid out of capital, can of course but lead to disaster to the road in the end. But if, misleading the public, it causes investors to buy the securities on the basis of the reported earnings, makes a market for such securities of but fictitious value at inflated prices, and so enables the manipulators to reap the profits of over-capitalization, exchange watered capital, costing them nothing, for gold, it will have served its purpose.

Thus have our railroads been used to despoil producers, build up trusts, fleece investors. Such are some of the intolerable abuses that have grown up around our railroad system, such are some of the ways in which our railroads have been used as engines of despoilment. And while they remain in private hands they will continue to be so used for those in control will of necessity be subjected to temptation, for they cannot fail to see how the railroads can be used to promote their private ends, and temptation leads men astray. Put the railroads in the hands of the government, beyond the control of those who have an interest and therefore are tempted to use them for private ends, and then such abuses will be put an end to, our railroad system cease to be an engine of despoilment, remain solely an engine of distribution, become an engine serving the general public, not without equity, not with gross preferences, and scattering evil in its wake as now, but with absolute fairness and justness. It is this the Peoples party sees as the fruit of railroad nationalization, it holds that nationalization would bring us ridance from the intolerable abuses that have grown up with and are inseparable from our privately managed railroad system, it is for this reason that it stands for government ownership. And in this it believes the masses of the people will stand with it for the mass of the people believe in equity, and private management of our railroads means our people shall not have equal service, government ownership means that they shall; private management means that discriminations between shippers shall continue as at present and in the past, government ownership that there shall be none.

Of Our Monetary System.

And as the Peoples party demands the nationalization of our railroads does it demand the nationalization of our monetary system and upon a paper basis. It demands it in the name of justice; that our monetary system, so effective as an engine of despoilment, may give way to a monetary system which will serve only as an engine of distribution. And with its fluctuating unit

of value our monetary system has long been made use of to despoil. Back in the Civil War the nation borrowed much money and ran much into debt. It ran into debt when money was plentiful, prices high. Indeed money had a much different value then than in the years just before or after. Money was cheap and the products of labor dear. In the last years of the war, when money was plentiful and prices high, when the government was getting deepest into debt, industry was active, the earning power of labor measured in dollars and cents large, the payment of debts comparatively easy. Labor was in demand and held in growing esteem. But the nation deep into debt, and the country doing business on this basis, the commercial death rate lower than ever before or since, the war over and the demand for money increased by the bringing of the Southern states back into the Union, Lincoln, the guardian of the people's interests, assassinated and stilled in death, his Secretary of the Treasury, chosen as a friend of the greenback currency, turned to Wall Street, took his cue therefrom, inaugurated a policy of violent contraction. As a result money doubled in value and prices fell by one-half. Of necessity the burden of all debts, public and private, was doubled, as with the fall in prices it took double the quantity of produce to pay them as before. Industry was paralyzed, the commercial death rate jumped up alarmingly, the country was bled for the profits of the holders of its debts, and of other fundholders whose debtors were strong enough to stand up under the increased strain. In response to popular outcry Congress halted the contraction inaugurated by McCulloch. But it was not long before a second step, finally resulting in a further doubling of the value of money and a further halving of prices, was taken. Silver was demonetized. Gold was made our standard. And step by step money grew dearer and the products of labor cheaper until very recently, when the greatly increased outpourings of new gold, outpourings trebled within a decade, began to relieve the strained situation. Before such outpourings made themselves felt we had a unit of value that as compared to the unit of Civil War time had been quadrupled.

Thus was our monetary system made an engine of despoilment. The Peoples party has ever entered its protest against such monetary system, ever denounced it. And ever will it, so long as it stands for justice and is true to itself, denounce a monetary system in which the unit of value is a fluctuating one; ever will it stand for a system in which the unit will be stable. And as standing for such a system, as not blind to the teachings of common sense or ignorant of the monetary history of the world it realized that two commodities such as gold and silver united are likely to make a standard of less fluctuating value than a standard based on either alone, it has stood and still stands for the free coinage of silver, not as a solution of the monetary question but as a mere temporary step looking to the betterment of the situation. For it realizes that a money system resting on gold and silver, a system in which the volume of money must necessarily be dependent upon the supply of the precious metals, must be lacking in stability. It realizes that the unit of value under such a system must be a fluctuating one, it recognizes that the value of money must change with any change in the relation between the supply of and demand for money, it sees therefore that the only money that can be kept of stable value is one the volume of which can be increased by government in accordance with the growing demands of trade. And this necessitates that the money be made of a substance the supply of which is not restricted. Further, as the value of money is dependent on its quantity not its quality, it is economy to make our money out of the cheapest possible substance that will serve the purpose. And that substance is paper. Thus it is that the Peoples party stands for paper money, for a currency the volume and hence the value of which can be absolutely regulated by the government, a currency that may be issued directly to the people in payment for public works, that may be redeemed and retired out of the reve-

nues of such public works and re-issued for the creation of new works of earning power, a continual cycle being thus kept up and the nation ever growing richer in public works while the country would be supplied with the best of currencies.

Of Our System of Taxation.

We have skipped over the land plank of our platform, but it is not that we have forgotten it, much less that we would ignore it. Rather would we emphasize it and make it more definite, but we must defer speaking of it to another time. So also will we pass the demand for the election of President, Vice-President, Federal Judges and United States Senators by direct vote of the people. We will linger at this time but to say a word about taxation. We have had a system of Federal Taxation that has not fallen equitably upon our people, that has exempted the rich from a large share of their just burden, that has put upon the shoulders of our poorer citizens an undue share of the costs of our government and so tended to further the centralization of wealth in the hands of the few. Our national revenues have been largely derived from taxes, customs and imposts, on articles of very general consumption, articles consumed almost as largely by the poor as the rich. As a consequence we have taxed the dollar of the poor man much more heavily than the dollar of the rich. And this is not fair. We have taxed the man and not the dollar. This should be reformed. We should tax the dollar and not the man. Justice demands this, it is for this principle of taxation that the Peoples party stands.

For justice is what the Peoples party stands for, justice in our system of taxation, in our monetary system and in our transportation system alike. Indeed, its mission is to make war on injustice, to war for justice. It stands for a rule of justice and love on earth as opposed to a rule of greed. And, finally, standing for this, it stands for a people's government, for it knows that such a government will institute on earth a rule of justice, of love, strive ever for the upliftment of mankind.

A LESSON IN RAILROAD NATIONALIZATION FROM THE CZAR'S DOMAIN.

A DOZEN years ago the people of the Czar's domain were plagued with the evil of railroad freight discriminations much as are our people to-day. Russian industries were actually discriminated against and in favor of foreign by Russian railroads, which carried imported goods over their lines at lower rates than they charged on goods of domestic origin. This they did on the plea that it was necessary in order to build up their traffic in imported goods, that if they did not carry the imported goods at lower rates such goods could not compete with kindred goods of Russian make, would not be imported and such traffic cease.

Much the same plea have we heard in America and our Supreme Court has declared it sound, held the railroads justified in making lower rates for imported goods than for goods of home manufacture. But the Russian government viewing the railroads as public institutions charged with the functions of common carriers, looking upon the attempt of these railroads to reverse by their arrangement of freight tariffs the very policy of protection to home industries at the frontier that the Czar had ordained, was not convinced by this plea. It resolved that such tearing down of the Czar's tariff policy by the railroads should cease. It resolved that the plague of freight discriminations that was so constricting the development of Russian industries should be put an end to. And this resolve was no mere empty one for the Czar's government is not so swayed by corporate influence as our own.

To make this resolve effective measures were taken for putting the railroads of Russia under the immediate management of the government. A dozen years ago 76 per cent. of the railroad mileage of Russia was in the hands of private companies and

"each company worked its line almost independently, keeping to its own tariff policy, without any regard to the interests of the country in general." We quote from a government report from which we give a liberal extract below. And to-day only 39 per cent. of the railroad mileage is owned by private companies and those companies are not free to keep their own tariff policy, they are obliged to keep the tariff policy the government decrees for them and its own lines with strict regard to the interests of the country. Over sixty per cent. of the mileage is owned by the government—this backward, dark ages government that can teach us lessons in railroad management.

Since the inauguration of this policy of railroad reform, the rectification of railroad abuses, freight discriminations, etc., the industrial development of Russia has been tremendous. And by the minister of finance, M. Witte, much of this development is attributed to this policy of railroad reform, a reform that has been crowned with great success. It is sometimes said by opponents of railroad nationalization that private enterprise is needed to push railroads into new country, to extend railroad mileage, that with the taking of railroad management under government control this pushing of railroad construction must slacken. But this has not been Russia's experience. Formerly the Russian government encouraged the building of railroads by private companies by richly subsidizing them. This policy was pursued with great liberality. But during the last dozen years a different policy has been largely pursued, that of using the government money to build government roads rather than using it to subsidize private companies to extend the railroad system, and with vastly more satisfactory results. The railroad mileage to-day is double what it was a dozen years ago and all this double mileage is being used, as it was not a dozen years ago, to foster the industrial development of the country, promote the general weal. Twelve years and more ago the railroad mileage, largely under private management, was being used to foster import trade into Russia to the detriment of her home industries. But things are different now, different under government ownership, and the industrial development of Russia has been great.

During the last dozen years the output of coal and petroleum in Russia has trebled, the production of pig iron almost quadrupled, the manufacture of textile goods doubled. As a general thing during the last dozen years the rate of industrial progress in Russia has been fifty per cent. more rapid than in the decade before. And on this the Russian minister of finance, M. Witte, writes in a recent report to his Emperor, submitting some "considerations on the budget of the Empire for 1900," a report republished by our State Department, as follows:

"In bearing witness to the success attained of late years in industry and trade, the minister of finance feels bound to inform Your Imperial Majesty that the extensive development of the country's productive forces is due, not only to the policy of protection, but likewise to the measures taken by Your Majesty and the late Emperor Alexander III for the regulation and extension of the railway system in Russia. It is now more than ten years since, by the orders of the Emperor Alexander III, Government undertook the immediate management of railways in the interests of all the forms of commerce and industry in this country, and likewise the regulation of the financial part of the railway system. The ministry of finance was charged with the solution of this problem, by means of a specially established railway department. Therefore, in presenting his report on the budget, the minister of finance considers it appropriate to inform Your Imperial Majesty of the results attained in this sphere by the measures taken under imperial direction, both in the interests of national economy and with the object of curtailing the expenses of the State treasury.

"In January, 1889, our railway net was 27,458 versts (verst equals 0.663 of a mile) long, only 6,470 versts of which belonged to Government (23.6 per cent.); all the other railways, to the extent of 20,988 versts (76.4 per cent.), were managed by 42 separate private railway companies. Each company worked its railway almost independently, keeping to its own tariff policy, without any regard to the interests of the country in general (italics

are ours). The State treasury was a heavy loser by the working both of State railways and of private lines guaranteed by Government; in 1889 this loss amounted to 30.5 million rubles, while the debt of guaranteed railways to Government reached the colossal sum of 984,000,000 rubles.

"While the interests of the country required a further and rapid development of its railway net, the interests, of the treasury, on the other hand, demanded the curtailment of expenses. The fulfillment of these requirements, so incompatible under the former state of affairs, presented grave difficulties, and was rendered possible only by Government undertaking the unification and immediate management of the whole railway system. Separate railways were bought up, and railway lines were concentrated in the hands of the Government and of a few large private railway companies. While leaving these lines in the hands of such companies, i. e., declining to exercise the right it had in virtue of the charters of buying up the railway before date, Government made the most favorable terms with these companies—terms by which Government either secured a portion of the profits or else bound the company to build new railway lines. At the same time Government constructed railways on its own account.

"The results of such a system are the following: Of the 42 private railway companies operating in 1889, at the present time there are only 9, while the 20,988 versts of private lines are now represented by 14,728 versts, or, including unfinished lines (6,414 versts), local and narrow-gauge railways (721 versts), a total of 21,863 versts. During the same time the length of State-owned lines has increased from 6,470 versts to 28,927 versts, and including lines in the course of construction (4,496 versts)—up to 33,423 versts. Thus the length of our railway net, which in 1889 was 27,458 versts, or—counting the 1,032 versts, in the course of construction—28,490 versts, has at present reached the length of 55,286 versts, exclusive of the Eastern Chinese Railway, which is not in Russian territory. It is now almost twice as long as it was in 1889, 60.5 per cent. of it being in the hands of the State and 39.5 per cent. in private hands. For the same period the rolling stock has been increased to a very considerable extent, more especially in Your Imperial Majesty's reign, when 290,000,000 rubles were assigned for the purchase of engines, passenger and goods cars, while, as compared with the end of 1894, the number of engines and passenger cars has increased 40 per cent. and of goods cars 50 per cent.

"For the same period the general financial results of Government participation in railway affairs were as follows: The annual loss to the treasury on the working of both Government and private railways was gradually diminished (except in 1892, when it reached 42.5 million rubles), and in 1894 amounted to 4.1 million rubles; since 1895 Government has had some profit from its share of railways, viz. 1.8 million rubles in 1895, 11.3 million rubles in 1896, 12.5 million rubles in 1897, and 12.1 million rubles in 1898. (It may be added that in calculating the profits all working expenses and interest on capital sunk in the construction and improvement of railways are taken into account.)

"The extension of the railway net and the increase of rolling stock have undoubtedly acted beneficially on the growth of industry, but besides these measures, a regular and uniform railway tariff was necessary. The almost absolute freedom formerly enjoyed by railway companies in fixing their tariff acted most injuriously on the progress of trade and industry. How injurious this independence was is seen from the fact that foreign imports (as return freight) were given every advantage in the shape of lowered tariff, and thus the railways counteracted the protective policy of the Government. For local traffic each company fixed its own special tariff, while for through transport the different companies adopted the most varied tariffs, often totally out of accordance with the prices of other lines.

"These tariffs, with constant alterations and supplements, used to be published in various places and by various institutions, and frequently not in time, so that it was almost impossible to follow them and make any definite commercial calculations of the cost of transport.

"At the present time the tariffs of all the Russian railways (with the exception of narrow-gauge subsidiary lines) are uniform, so that goods of the same class, when traveling the same number of versts, pay the same freight in all parts of Russia; exceptions to this fundamental rule being made only in a few, specially important cases. The uniform tariff is likewise taken as a basis in calculating the charge for the passage over the Russian portion of international transport. There is a certain abate-

ment only on exports to foreign countries and to the Far East, thus completely doing away with the possibility of counteracting customs duties by low freights. Tariffs are now published in full, and in sufficient time to be of use, in the "Collection of Tariffs," an official publication of the ministry of finance. Thus uniformity, stability, and cheapness have been attained in the goods tariffs of Russian railways. Of course there are many improvements to be made in the future, especially in regulating the interests of the various regions of Your Imperial Majesty's vast Empire.

"At the same time, as it is very important for the economic development of the country that every facility should be afforded to passenger traffic, owing to the enormous distances to be traversed, the ministry of finance turned its attention to lowering the passenger tariff, laying down the rule that the charge per verst should be progressively decreased, in proportion to the length of the journey. The results of this measure have been most favorable, passenger traffic having increased very considerably, while the general receipts of railways from passengers, instead of diminishing, are actually much greater."

And then M. Witte sums up Russia's gains attained under the policy of railroad nationalization during the years since 1889:

"The railway net is almost twice as long; the rolling stock is considerably augmented; instead of being a loss to the treasury, as formerly, (through payment of subsidies), the railways now bring in an annual profit; there is a uniform, stable, and accessible railway tariff, which is fixed in accordance with the general national interests of industry and trade; passenger traffic is cheaper."

Gettysburg, Luray, Washington. Personally-Conducted tour via Pennsylvania Railroad.

Over the battlefield of Gettysburg, through the picturesque Blue Mountains, via Hagerstown and Antietam, and down the beautiful and historic Shenandoah Valley to the unique Caverns of Luray; thence across the rolling hills of Northern Virginia to Washington, is the route of this tour—a section of the country intensely interesting from both a historic and a scenic standpoint.

The tour will leave New York 8.00 A. M., and Philadelphia 12.20 P. M., Tuesday, May 29, in charge of one of the company's tourist agents, and will cover a period of five days. An experienced chaperon, whose especial charge will be unescorted ladies, will accompany the trip throughout. Round-trip tickets, covering transportation, carriage drives, and hotel accommodations, will be sold at the *extremely low rate* of \$25 from New York, \$24 from Trenton, \$22 from Philadelphia, and proportionate rates from other points.

For itineraries and full information apply to ticket agents; Tourist Agent, 1196 Broadway, New York; 4 Court Street, Brooklyn; 789 Broad Street, Newark, N. J.; or address George W. Boyd, Assistant General Passenger Agent, Broad Street Station, Philadelphia.—*Adv.*

Colorado Illustrated.

A new book, giving complete information relative to this wonderful state as a tourist resort or home location, has just been issued by the Chicago & North-Western Railway, via which line "The Colorado Special" leaves Chicago at 10:00 A. M. every day in the year, arriving Denver 1:20 next afternoon, Colorado Springs and Manitou the same evening, requiring only one night en route. Free copy at ticket offices or mailed on receipt of four cents postage by W. A. Cox, 601 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.—*Adv.*

Two Fast Trains Daily to Portland, Ore.

Via Chicago, Union Pacific and North-Western Line. "The Overland Limited" leaves 6:30 P. M., equipped with Pullman sleeping cars, tourist cars, free reclining chair cars, buffet library cars. All meals in dining cars. "Pacific Express" leaves 10:30 P. M. with similar equipment. No change of cars. Fastest time. Unequaled service. The best of everything. All agents sell tickets via Chicago & North-Western Railway, or address W. A. Cox, 601 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.—*Adv.*

Health for Ten Cents.

Cascarets make the bowels and kidneys act naturally, destroy microbes, cure headache, biliousness and constipation. All druggists.—*Adv.*

PENNSYLVANIA POPULISTS.

To the Populists of Pennsylvania:

As Chairman of the Peoples Party State Committee, I address you with regard to offices to be voted for at the November elections and upon the selection of Presidential electors for Pennsylvania. The offices to be filled are:

Two Congressmen at Large.
Congressmen from the 28 several Districts.
Auditor General.
State Senators from uneven numbered Districts.
Members of State House of Representatives from all Districts.
Thirty-two Presidential Electors.

In accordance with the action taken by our late National Convention at Cincinnati, May 9 and 10, establishing the principle of direct legislation in all party matters, and also to save unnecessary expense and valuable time, I ask Pennsylvania Populists to report to THE AMERICAN, which will take the vote, their preferences for the respective offices. The following names have been suggested to me as those of men well qualified for the several offices for which they are named, and I heartily approve their selection:

FOR CONGRESSMEN AT LARGE.

Robert Brigham.....Franklin.....Venango County.
George Main.....Susquehanna.....Susquehanna County.

FOR AUDITOR GENERAL.

D. O. Coughlin.....Wilkesbarre.....Luzerne County.

FOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

A. S. Aiman.....	Germantown.....	Philadelphia County.
G. P. Armstrong.....	McEwensville.....	Northumberland County.
George T. Bateman.....	Houtzdale.....	Clearfield "
John J. Brady.....	Philadelphia.....	Philadelphia "
C. Brinton.....	Pocopson.....	Chester "
J. W. Campion.....	Swarthmore.....	Delaware "
C. C. Cooper.....	Kelly Cross-Roads.....	Union "
George W. Dawson.....	Beaver.....	Beaver "
W. C. Deakin.....	Susquehanna.....	Susquehanna "
W. E. Ewer.....	Corry.....	Erie "
E. N. Fairchild.....	Sizerville.....	Cameron "
D. H. Fisher.....	Entriken.....	Huntingdon "
F. A. Foreman.....	Upton.....	Franklin "
W. A. Gardner.....	Andrew's Settlement.....	Potter "
James H. Graybill.....	Crenshaw.....	Jefferson "
D. Hetrick.....	Drab.....	Blair "
W. C. Hill.....	Maple Creek.....	Forest "
Anselm B. Kirsch.....	Nicktown.....	Cambria "
Thomas S. Laird.....	Nordmont.....	Sullivan "
Dr. A. H. P. Leuf.....	Philadelphia.....	Philadelphia "
Abram L. Line.....	Montsera.....	Cumberland "
John H. Lorimer.....	Philadelphia.....	Philadelphia "
S. F. Lane.....	Montrose.....	Susquehanna "
Dr. O. G. Moore.....	Knox.....	Clarion "
E. Muzzy.....	East Branch.....	Warren "
A. C. Price.....	Renfrew.....	Butler "
H. C. Snavely.....	Lebanon.....	Lebanon "
Andrew Storry.....	Pettis.....	Crawford "
John Suckling.....	Hollidaysburg.....	Blair "
Harry Tyler.....	Osceola.....	Tioga "
J. A. Welsch.....	New Castle.....	Lawrence "
W. C. Wine.....	Indiana.....	Indiana "

We should, I believe, as one step towards an effectual and effective organization of the Peoples Party of Pennsylvania, run full congressional, state and county tickets. Names for county offices and for those which are not voted for by the state at large need not be given, but I will thank you to name men for State Senate and Legislature in your respective districts.

Immediate action in the above matters is highly important, so that we may open the state campaign promptly and conduct it with all vigor along with that for our national ticket, Hon. Wharton Barker and Hon. Ignatius Donnelly. I therefore earnestly request that you will, one and all, act at once, by reporting to THE AMERICAN, which will take the referendum. Nomination papers will be made out in accordance with the vote received up to June 10th, and circulated immediately thereafter. If you approve the nominations above suggested, report simply: "I hereby cast my vote for men named." If others are preferred, give their names, addresses, and the offices for which you nominate them. Any number favoring the same nominations may sign on one ballot. Careful attention to these instructions will greatly simplify the counting of votes.

Very respectfully yours,

R. A. THOMPSON, Chairman.
Peoples Party State Committee, Indiana, Pa.

To facilitate the taking of the referendum vote on the foregoing nominations for State officers and Presidential Electors, and for the convenience of those voting, we subjoin two forms of ballot. Any number of persons favoring the same nominations may sign on one ballot.

Form 1. I hereby cast my vote for men suggested in call issued by R. A. Thompson, Chairman of Peoples Party of Pennsylvania.

Name..... Address.....

If you prefer other men in place of any or all those named, cut out the published list, substitute the names and addresses of those you desire and paste it above the following ballot, which then sign and send to THE AMERICAN, which is taking the vote at request of the State Committee.

Form 2. I hereby cast my vote for men named above for the respective offices given.

Name..... Address.....

STATE OF OHIO, CITY OF TOLEDO, } ss.
LUCAS COUNTY.

FRANK J. CHENEY makes oath that he is the senior partner of the firm of F. J. CHENEY & Co., doing business in the City of Toledo, County and State aforesaid, and that said firm will pay the sum of ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS for each and every case of Catarrh that cannot be cured by the use of HALL'S CATARRH CURE.

FRANK J. CHENEY.

Sworn to before me and subscribed in my presence, this 6th day of December, A.D. 1886.

{
SEAL
}

A. W. GLEASON,
Notary Public.

Hall's Catarrh Cure is taken internally and acts directly on the blood and mucous surfaces of the system. Send for testimonials, free. F. J. CHENEY & CO., Toledo, O.

Sold by Druggists, 75c.

Hall's Family Pills are the best.—Adv.

Philadelphia Horse Show at Wissahickon Heights.—Special Excursion tickets via Pennsylvania Railroad.

The ninth annual open-air exhibition of the Philadelphia Horse Show will be held on St. Martin's Green, Wissahickon Heights Station, Philadelphia, May 28 to June 2, inclusive.

The announcement of an exhibition under the auspices of this organization, which is composed of leading citizens of Philadelphia, is in itself an assurance of perfection. The prize list is liberal, and representatives of the best society of Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Washington, and other Eastern cities will enter their horses and equipages in the competition for the premiums.

The grounds, which are located immediately on the Germantown and Chestnut Hill Branch of the Pennsylvania Railroad, eleven miles from Broad Street Station, are ample for all purposes of the show, and the accommodations for visitors are complete.

The Pennsylvania Railroad will sell special excursion tickets, including coupon of admission, from New York, Philadelphia, Belvidere, Lancaster, Wilmington, West Chester, Phoenixville, and principle intermediate stations (as well as the Chestnut Hill Branch) to Wissahickon Heights Station, May 28 to June 2, good to return until June 4, 1900, inclusive.—Adv.

Reduced Rates to North Manchester, Ind., via Pennsylvania Railroad.

For meeting of German Baptist Brethren, at North Manchester, Ind., May 29 to June 8, 1900, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company will place special excursion tickets on sale May 29 to June 3, 1900, from stations west of Baltimore (not inclusive), and Lancaster and Reading (inclusive), and south of and including Sunbury, at rate of one first-class limited fare for the round trip. Tickets will be good returning until July 1, inclusive.—Adv.

Reduced Rates to Washington, D. C., via Pennsylvania Railroad. Account of Imperial Council, Order of Mystic Shrine.

For the Imperial Council, Order of the Mystic Shrine, at Washington, D. C., May 22-24, the Pennsylvania Railroad will sell tickets to the general public, from all stations on its line, to Washington and return, at rate of one fare for the round trip. Tickets to be sold and good going May 19-21, returning to May 28, inclusive.—Adv.

BOOK REVIEWS.

A New William Penn.

The True William Penn. BY SYDNEY GEORGE FISHER. Illustrated. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. \$2.

To Pennsylvanians, and more particularly Philadelphians, after Benjamin Franklin, there is no one man so justly theirs as the Quaker gentleman who gave to the province his name, fortune and undying love. Our fellow townsman, Sydney George Fisher, well known as the author of "The True Benjamin Franklin," and other deserving books, has assumed the responsibility of sifting the pure gold of truth from the dross of error and false report that has hidden the man Penn these two hundred years past. And before going further and in justice to the author, we must say that he has done his work so excellently that there is room for naught else save praise. To present the living Penn was no easy task, for unfortunately the many writers who have written of his life and work have been swayed by prejudice and passion to a degree so marked as to destroy all faith in the accuracy of their accounts. Thus on the one side we have the Quaker writers who as a rule give us a bright picture, and one that passes lightly over many of Penn's greatest failings, excusing here and ignoring there, while on the other hand we have the English historian Macaulay, who displays an unnecessary and unreasoning antipathy toward Penn on all occasions. Out of this chaos of ideas Mr. Fisher has brought order, and from this day forth no student of Penn or of early Pennsylvania history can afford to be without his book. Speaking of Penn the Man, Mr. Fisher thus quaintly and interestingly describes him:

"William Penn is now usually thought of as a pious, contemplative man, a peace-loving Quaker in a broad brim hat and plain drab clothes, who founded Pennsylvania in the most successful manner, on beautiful, benevolent principles, and kindness to the Indians. But the real Penn, though of a religious turn of mind, was essentially a man of action, restless and enterprising, at times a courtier and a politician, who loved handsome dress, lived well and lavishly, and although he undoubtedly kept his faith with the red men, Pennsylvania was the torment of his life. He came, moreover, of fighting ancestry, and was himself a soldier for a short time. His life was full of contests, imprisonments, disasters and suffering, if not of actual fighting, and he lived during the most critical periods of English history. Few, if any Quakers have shown so much energy as he. Indeed, there have been few men who have attempted to accomplish so much."

Mr. Fisher's Penn is a "new" as well as the "true" William Penn. He shatters many of our preconceived ideas into a thousand pieces, as for instance when he throws out much more than a suspicion to the effect that the beautiful, shall we say legend? of the Penn Treaty with the Indians under the spreading branches of the giant elm on the banks of the Delaware, was not true in fact, and probably nothing more than a mere myth born and raised in the imaginative brain of painter and story teller. It seems almost a pity to have this picture, upon which we have all been brought up, destroyed by the ruthless and unsparing hand of a fellow townsman, who not content with this desecration, goes on to tell us that the bronze figure of Penn surmounting our City Hall tower, in which all Philadelphians have taken so much pride, is also far from what is desirable as a fitting representation of our Quaker father.

It is a little hard to think of Penn dressed as a "dandy," with sword at side and with evident enjoyment playing the courtier to perfection. It is well to remember, however, that as the son of Admiral Penn, certainly one of England's greatest sailors, and high in the esteem of his king, this was quite natural, and the only wonder is that he was strong enough and independent enough to brave the serious displeasure and wrath of his father, that often assumed the proportions of physical chastisement, and risking the loss of position, wealth and future, come out boldly in defence of his faith that was despised, hated and frowned upon by all the powerful men of England. When we consider the sacrifices he made for conscience sake when little more than a boy we can but gaze in pure admiration at his entire future life. A man that was willing to do this might make many serious blunders, as Penn often did, but this he could not do—he could do nothing unworthy or dishonorable, he must ever be true to himself and to all men.

Few have suffered more than Penn, and very few have born their trials with such a beautiful tranquility of soul as did the famous Quaker. Time and again we find him thrown into loathsome prisons for publicly preaching and proclaiming his faith, and on release, secured as a rule through the mediation of powerful and influential friends of his, and more particularly of his

father, we find him immediately throwing himself into the work with undiminished zeal and unquenchable determination. A man of great wealth, Penn, through an accident and a too confiding trust in his false friends, was brought early to bitter and hopeless poverty, out of which he never extricated himself. It is only fair to state, however, that by borrowed money he continued to live in the abundant luxury to which he had been ever accustomed. According to Mr. Fisher, Penn's conception of his American province was the outgrowth of many years of thought and not the accident of a moment. "The idea was not at all original with him; and if it originated with any one person, it was with George Fox." The conception and draft of the Pennsylvania Constitution generally credited to Penn alone, was, Mr. Fisher informs us, the product of several minds, and in it Penn certainly had the assistance of Sydney and Locke. "Taken altogether, this constitution was very characteristic of Penn. It was an earnest, zealous attempt to attain the best sort of government; but as often happened with him, some of its idealism was not successful; and yet in the end, when all was said and done, his untiring energy had furnished some ideas and principles of permanent value."

The saddest thing about this Pennsylvania that Penn loved, cherished and slaved for so much, was the fact that it proved the rock upon which his fortunes were wrecked. Fickle fortune gave him fleeting glances at the great wealth that would in the course of years come to the proprietors of Pennsylvania, but his life time was all too short to reap where he had so abundantly sown. But if it was his great trial it was also the source of his greatest pleasures and the pride of his heart. In the sylvan glens of his province he sought and found that peaceful rest that meant so much to him after a life time of trial and struggle, and we ever find his mind turning to this child of his heart with a pure and simple delight infinitely touching. Here he would throw off all care and renew his youth, and on one occasion our author tells us that to amuse the Indians he joined them in a jumping match, and much to their surprise, outdid them all.

That his judgment of men and events was apt to be sadly in error is only too evident. As an instance we find him supporting James II, a Roman Catholic bigot, with all the power at his command, thereby winning the spirited opposition of the Puritans and of many Quakers. That by this method he secured the freedom of some 1,300 imprisoned Quakers was forgotten by all in a short time and he was forced to suffer for his connection with an unpopular ex-king for many long years. Then, too, his implicit trust in his friends would have been absurd, had it not contained so many elements of tragedy. His friends, or rather his unfriends, found him ever ready to trust them, and this trust in many cases was repaid by robbery and disgraceful infidelity. Mr. Fisher says: "When Penn's affections were deeply touched—when he took a fancy to a province, or to a man or to a king—there seems to have been no limit to his folly."

The end of Penn's life, to us, is filled with a deep pathos. The brave old storm-beaten man, just as he was beginning to reach a haven of rest and contentment, was stricken with recurring attacks of paralysis that weakened and finally destroyed his mind. Growing gradually weaker and weaker in mind as well as body, he yet lived on some six years. There is something unspeakably sad to look upon in the ruin of so great a mind, and we catch ourselves wishing that death had cut him down at the height of his power and wisdom.

The book is light in weight, cleanly printed, copiously illustrated, a pleasure to look upon and a pleasure to read.

The Poetry of Nature and the Word of Truth.

The Toiling of Felix and Other Poems. By HENRY VAN DYKE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.

"Poetry is more intimate than music, more musical than prose," says Bliss Perry, and, if his statement is true at all, the value and truth of it was never more and more truly manifested than in the present instance. Aside from the religious feeling of the writer, which appears noticeably strong and appears to be so exceedingly sincere; aside from the religious value of the story and the other poems contained in this volume, their poetical value as poetry is striking from the very first. And in reading the lines and between lines, in reading the verses and stanzas, in following the rhyme and rhythm, in carefully comparing both the language and the mastery of it, one must come to the conclusion that "the natural way of writing" is certainly a gift of which van Dyke is the happy possessor. Those who have been fortunate to read former poems of the author, and his "Builders" in particular, will of course appreciate to a larger extent the

poetical beauty of which we speak. His is a style with which one must be, and more and more become acquainted, to fully grasp its phantomatic charm. The new reader, however, who first makes acquaintance with his style of poetry, and who loves poetry, will, at the very first be delighted by the unsurpassable flow of perfect, musical language, written in a unique style, which is so van Dyke like in every sense. Is there, for instance, more charming rhythm or more beautiful poetry than

"Every mason in the quarry, every builder on the shore,
Every shopper in the palm-grove, every raftsmen at the oar—
"Hewing wood and drawing water, splitting stones and cleaving sod—
All the dusty ranks of labor, in the regiment of God,
"March together toward His triumph, do the tasks His hands prepare:
Honest toil is holy service; faithful work is praise and prayer."

"The toiling of Felix" is a legend on a new saying of Jesus which was discovered in the rubbish heaps of the ancient city of Oxyrhynchus, near the river Nile, by a party of English explorers in the winter of 1897 written on a fragment of papyrus book in the Second or Third Century and hitherto unknown. This single leaf contains parts of seven short sentences of Christ each introduced by the words, "Jesus says." It is to the fifth of these sayings of Jesus that the following poem refers, and which, in its essence, according to the author's prelude, is:

Hear a word that Jesus spake
Eighteen centuries ago,
Where the crimson lilies blow
Round the blue Tiberian lake:
There the bread of life he brake,
Through the fields of harvest walking
With his lowly comrades, talking
Of the secret thoughts that feed
Weary hearts in time of need.
Art thou hungry? Come and take;
Hear the word that Jesus spake:
'Tis the sacrament of labor;
Meat and drink divinely blest;
Friendship's food and sweet refreshment;
Strength and courage, joy and rest.

But these words, the author continues, spoken so pathetically, so comfortingly by the Master, are silent now and long forgotten. Dr. van Dyke reminds us of the wicked presence, and in a thundering voice asserts that the world is in the utmost need of someone, of something which can interpret the words in a most modern sense. And in this appeal, particularly the poetry, the exquisite flow of Dr. van Dyke's perfect language and most musical rhythm shows itself:

Rise, and let thy voice be heard,
Like a fountain disinterred,
Upward springing, singing, sparkling;
Through the doubtful shadows darkling;
Till the clouds of pain and rage
Brooding o'er the toiling age,
As with rifts of light are stirred
By the music of the word;
Gospel for the heavy-laden, answer to the laborer's cry,
"Raise the stone, and thou shalt find Me; cleave the wood,
and there am I."

The other poems contained in this book show likewise the master of verse, the imitator of Nature's singers, the birds. "The River of Dreams" and many other long and short poems are extremely beautiful, and tell without words how near he, the poet, stands to Nature, and because of it, because of his intense love for her, that Nature has favored him with her choicest gifts, and the Muse with its most lavish treasures. "The Angler's Reveille" has by many a lover and judge of poetry been considered one of the most perfect masterpieces in recent poetry. The imitation of the Robin, the song of the Bluebird, the notes of the Yellowthroat and the melody of the Brown Thrush are so strongly appealing that one almost hears their voices. The poet's greatness consists to a large extent in shifting us nearer to nature, in drawing us closer to the beautiful and grand, in bringing us nearer to the Supreme, thus enabling us to think, reflect and feel. Dr. van Dyke's poetry seems to fulfill the purpose admirably. The reading of good poetry affects us like a magic spell; poetry, at all times, has had a soothing, an ennobling influence over the earth's children; its charm is irresistible, its influence a blessing to mankind. Good poetry, therefore, is the object of reverence and contemplation. But, as a

rule, we are too busy to bestow even a passing notice, a little study upon real good poetry in these days of feverish hurry, in these days of the newspaper and electricity. The leaves and blossoms, real pleasures and amusements of the heart, we have but little time to enjoy now-a-days; the password means "be practical," and poetry is idling time away. May, then, a new writer, like Dr. van Dyke, in a new direction, like his "chord of nature," develop new vigor, new pleasure in poetry, and thus benefit mankind in a way that must bear good fruit, that must prove a benefit surpassing.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Charles Sumner. By MOORFIELD STOREY.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.25.

Now that passing years have softened the bitter and burning passions of the anti-slavery movement and of the Civil War, and that the hand of death has stricken from the chess board of public life the great actors of that momentous period in our national existence, we are sure all will gladly bear testimony to the sterling characteristics and noble devotion to his principles of Charles Sumner. His life-long and warm personal friend, Emerson, spoke no more than the truth when he remarked that Sumner for many years was the "conscience of the Senate". During the Civil War, and, in truth, for several years prior thereto, Sumner stood as a giant among strong and vigorous statesmen. Entering the United States Senate as the lonely and bitterly hated representative of the Abolitionists, given but scant and luke-warm support from the Northern States where he had a right to look for assistance, he yet fought his way up, step by step, to the leadership of the Senate. He was not a great man of the Lincoln or Washington type, in no way was he fitted to meet and triumphantly overcome obstacles such as these two greatest of Americans met almost daily. Placed in the responsible position of either, he must have proved a decided and lamentable failure, but for the work that came to his hand and brain for solution he was exceptionally well fitted both by birth and training. The cause to which he devoted his life had wanted just such a man as Sumner,—he came and filled a long felt want. We cannot better describe the characteristics of Charles Sumner and the reasons for his magnificent success than in the brief summing up of Mr. Storey in the concluding chapter of this book:

"Charles Sumner was a great man in his absolute fidelity to principle, his clear perception of what his country needed, his unflinching courage, his perfect sincerity, his persistent devotion to duty, his indifference to selfish considerations, his high scorn of anything petty or mean. He was essentially simple to the end, brave, kind, and pure. . . . From the time he entered public life till he died he was a strong force constantly working for righteousness. He had absolute faith in the principles of free government as laid down in the Declaration of Independence, and he gave his life to secure their practical recognition. They were not to him glittering generalities, but ultimate, practical truths, and in this faith Lincoln and Sumner were one."

While all Americans are more or less conversant with the great effects of Sumner's work for the cause of the slave, and during the reconstruction struggle, few know that after Adams he was one of the chief instruments in preventing the outbreak of war between Great Britain and the United States. His copious correspondence with Bright and Cobden had an immense effect in both countries and will ever stand a monument to his far-seeing statesmanship.

Mr. Storey in this life of Charles Sumner has well maintained the high reputation won by other authors in the "American Statesman" series. While not a particularly interesting writer (his style has a tendency toward the dry and heavy) he has certainly given a true, careful and masterful description of Sumner's life. Evidently Mr. Storey is not a believer in the present Imperialistic policy of the McKinley administration, for in speaking of Sumner he has this to say:

"He firmly believed in the words of Lincoln: 'This is a world of compensations; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God, cannot long retain it'. Their fellow countrymen will do well to burn these words upon their hearts."

* *

Thomas Paine. By ELLERY SEDGWICK. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 75 cents.

In his preface the author remarks that "the purpose of this small volume is to tell the story of Thomas Paine without bias and without argument". A man of strong convictions, many

of them extremely radical, Paine was fearless, more, aggressive in asserting them and quite regardless of the feelings of those he ran against. As a consequence he made bitter enemies on all sides, even winning the personal dislike of many who admired him for his work and believed in much that he taught. And so also has he been maligned an eulogized with a freedom that has made it extremely difficult to separate fact from fiction. Paine's influence in behalf of humanity and justice was great and at one and another period of his life very generally recognized, and he himself much applauded for what he did. His "Common Sense" and "Crises" did a work for American independence that assuredly entitle them and their author to a high and honored place in American history. When Paine removed to France he continued along the lines his conscience dictated and threw himself into the Revolution with the same energy he put into everything that appealed to his nature and sympathies. Mr. Sedgwick has mastered the difficult task he undertook when he essayed to write a fair and unprejudiced life of Paine, in a way that brings the present book fully up to the standard set by previous volumes in the attractive *Beacon Biographies*, of which it is the last so far published. We notice the author repeats the picturesque myth about Paine's escape from the guillotine through a wrongly placed chalk mark on the door of his cell in the Luxembourg.

.

The Transvaal Outlook. With Maps. By ALBERT STICKNEY. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

Here we have the most striking and disappointing book yet published of the many that have been issued to fill the demand for the story of the origin and probable outcome of the present Briton-Boer conflict. The author, most unfortunately and in a conspicuously glaring manner, is quite carried away by his passionate prejudices and sometimes, we regret to say, does not hesitate to magnify, almost falsify, the facts of history in making his points tell. We have had a number of decidedly colored British accounts of the South African question, and now we are treated to one on the other side. Mr. Stickney out-Herods Herod. And further, in this careless and unfortunate trait of getting away from true history, he makes one or two mistakes so apparent as to be almost ludicrous. As an instance we may cite the case of Baden-Powell, whom our author mentions as the commander of Kimberley during the late siege.

The picture of the total and criminal inefficiency of the British army is cleverly drawn, and in the main is undoubtedly very close to the real facts of the case. But not content with a simple and plain story of this almost fatal defect, the author gives way to imagination, and by prophecy after prophecy of British disaster, many of which are already discredited by the rapid movement of events, destroys all the good opinion we were beginning to get of his book. It is rather a shock to one's faith in Mr. Stickney as a prophet to read in his book page upon page of argument and collected data showing the utter impossibility of the British army forcing its way to the relief of Kimberley and Ladysmith. Statements akin to these shake our belief in many of the prophecies that have as yet neither been proved nor disproved, and destroy absolutely our opinion of and faith in the book. And this is unfortunate, for there is much of truth and fact therein that should find the way before the tribunal of the world, there to give witness of the right and justice of the war.

That our readers may judge of the character of Mr. Stickney's book for themselves we quote a few sentences, omitting, however, all those that are especially inaccurate and opposed to truth:

"The most prominent characteristics of the British War Office, and of the ordinary British Army officers, are arrogance and indocility. Absolutely confident of their own superiority to the rest of the world, civilized and uncivilized, with an innate imbedded conviction impossible to dislodge, of the completeness of their knowledge on all subjects, and of the impossibility of their learning anything from other men, the inability of the British War Office, or of the ordinary British officer, to adapt themselves to the modern methods of modern warfare, is almost beyond conception. The present fighting methods of the British Army are essentially mediæval. They are antiquated. They are out of date. . . . The Boers' blood is that of lovers and defenders of civil and religious liberty for centuries. In this respect, their record is without a break. It furnishes a striking contrast to the record of the British hereditary official class. Of this last—the record has been one of continuous cruelty and tyranny, in their own land, and in other lands. . . . Thereafter came the present war, which, if it were not already so dreadful, ought to be termed the Chamberlain Raid. It was not brought to redress any grievances of the Uitlanders, or of any other persons. It was a war of mere lawless conquest for land and gold. . . . To the

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"A book that stands out by itself as the life of Lincoln, the man."—*The American*, Philadelphia.

"Drawn with rare insight and sympathy."—*Chicago Times-Herald.*

"One of the most remarkable biographies ever written by an American."—*Boston Advertiser.*

"Lawyers will be certain to peruse with particular pleasure the chapter on Lincoln as a Lawyer."—*Albany Law Journal.*

The Macmillan Company, NEW YORK.

Boers to-day, is committed the guarding of the Temple of Liberty. To them, to-day, is committed the contest for the right of self-government, the struggle for free institutions. They are the representatives, to-day, of the highest traditions of the English people. At present, the British government is engaged in the work, in which it has often engaged outside its own territory, of unholy conquest. It is false to its own highest ideals. . . . The end of the whole matter is—This War of the Rothschilds—is a War for Gold."

Mr. Stickney is evidently firmly convinced that the downfall of the British Empire is near, very near at hand unless the present policy of the government is radically and immediately changed. In India and in the menace of Russia he sees plainly the coming storm that shall wreck the Empire. He is a firm believer in the final triumph of justice over wrong, and in the doctrine that man and nation must suffer for every offence against justice and right. The maps in this book are highly valuable and almost indispensable to him who has once seen them.

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Philip Winwood. By ROBERT NEILSON STEPHENS. Illustrated. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$1.50.

In his latest romance Mr. Stephens takes us back once more into the old familiar haunts and scenes in which he first won his spurs as a novelist. In other words, "Philip Winwood" is one more romance of the American Revolution. However, Mr. Stephens has shown good judgment in that he has abandoned the usual methods of presenting a story of the days of the Revolution, and has struck forth boldly in a new and almost original manner. Thus the present story is told through the medium of an American Tory officer serving under the standard of England and against his fellow countrymen led by Washington and other patriots. At first glance one would very naturally suppose that Mr. Stephens had made a bad blunder in overlooking, or rather abandoning, the usual style which takes as its pattern a patriot struggling for his country's liberties. But not so. It is this very originality that is the story's greatest charm. We do not consider "Philip Winwood" the superior of at least one other of the author's previous works, but we freely state that it is our mature judgment that this book will outrun in popular favor its older brothers and sisters. This is, of course, due mainly to the growing popularity of Mr. Stephens' dashing style of writing, and to the wonderful demand on the part of the public for all kinds of novels, regardless almost of character and complexion. The publishers inform us that this book had the unprecedented sale of thirty thousand copies in advance of publication.

One thing we are most gratified to note in Mr. Stephens' later books is a more quiet and staid style. At one time he was quite a will-o'-the-wisp in the wild and madcap extent to which he gave his vivid imagination play. But now the one-time reckless pen is held in leash, and the author's friends need no longer fear a catastrophe such as might easily have marred his entire literary future. The one thing about this story we most object to is the characteristics of the heroine, Margaret Winwood, who in every way is totally unfitted to appear alongside such a man

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as Philip Winwood. There is not a redeeming trait in her selfish and unlovable life, and we fail altogether to understand Mr. Stephens' reason for introducing her if it be not to enhance the beauty and nobility of his hero through a painful comparison. The book is attractive in get-up, with a fetching cover, but the illustrations are only fair.

Iroka: Tales of Japan By ADACHI KINOSUKE. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.25.

How distinctly different are the civilizations of the East and West! At almost every point of comparison there is something which separates the one from the other. We think differently, act differently, view life and its problems differently, and, with a not altogether groundless self conceit, are apt to regard our brethren of the East quite indifferently. This is our loss. The wonderful Eastern civilization which existed centuries upon centuries before Western progress took its start and from which it drew so vastly is still capable of giving us much, teaching us many lessons. For our part we find this Eastern civilization with its characteristic products of handicraft, of sentiment, of faith, of philosophy, infinitely attractive. One is sure of coming upon something peculiarly distinct from what he is accustomed to, and the uncertain expectancy which goes with not knowing what is in store is in itself sufficient to create an interest that can but increase as the matter unfolds in its manifold diversity. Now all this may seem quite irrelevant to a book of Japanese tales, yet it applies very directly though in a general sense.

These stories, some of them heretofore published in sundry magazines, are written by a young Japanese now living in California. From several points of view they are worthy of attention. They are not spoiled by being told in English for they remain Japanese in sentiment and carry all the fragrance and color of that flowery expression which is ever so attractive where it comes naturally and runs gracefully. Again, we get in these tales a look into old Japan, learn something of the *Sumarai* caste which flourished there of yore much as did the chevaliers in Europe, and are told some of the legends of the land. Out of this material the author has constructed thirteen short stories which are unique, clever, interesting and decidedly readable. Altogether they make the best collection of the sort it has been our pleasure to meet with. The book is attractively bound and will doubtless find much favor.

The Grip of Honor. A Story of Paul Jones and the American Revolution. By CYRUS TOWNSEND BRADY. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

Writing for periodical literature may be very remunerative in dollars and cents and win a good deal of cheap and temporary fame, but it certainly has a decidedly detrimental effect on the work of the really worthy writer. One who must turn in certain copy for magazine or periodical consumption is, from very necessity, always hurried and rushed to an extent that forbids and prevents a display of his best abilities. So it is with Archdeacon Brady in his latest romance of the sea, "The Grip of Honor," which recently appeared as a serial in the *Saturday Evening Post* of this city. For a man of his splendid attainments; for a man who has already displayed an ability as a writer of fiction and historical romance second to no one of our recent authors, it is but little short of criminal to debase himself in such a needless and ruthless manner. Mr. Brady ought to appreciate the dangers of too prolific authorship before it is too late, and we raise our voice in condemnation of his present course, that can but lead to his deep humiliation and lasting despair if persisted in. He should remember that it is easier to destroy than to create, and if he disregard all warning he will learn, when it is too late, that the popular endorsement that is yet his, has sought and found other idols. If he alone was the sufferer from this ill-advised decision of lending himself to periodical literature we would not complain. That would be a matter for him alone to decide. But he has no right to sacrifice his real genius on the altar of vanity or material interests. That, by right, belongs to his fellow-countrymen, and they are justified in demanding of Mr. Brady that he keep it as fresh and glorious as he is well able to do. We do not wish it to be understood that we hold all periodical literature lightly. Far from it. To the magazine and periodical alone many of our finest and best romances owe their birth and publicity. We do not object in the slightest degree to the publication of stories in serial form so long as the author remains true to himself and to his work, so long as he does not abuse the story in the hurry and worry of preparing it to meet the demands of the magazine editor. Some

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authors are able to produce as good work here as elsewhere, others cannot. To the first, and they are very few, we say go ahead; to the second, they are the great majority, stop all such effort. To this second class Mr. Brady belongs. Therefore we urge him to return to the paths where he won, and deservedly, such high praise, and from whence he strayed after false gods.

The present romance of John Paul Jones and the sailors of the young American navy is as lively, full-blooded and inspiring, as Mr. Brady's previous efforts. His patriotism is contagious, and he soon has his reader throwing his hat in the air and calling for cheers for the flag and the navy. His description of the battle between the Serapis and the Bon Homme Richard is a splendidly realistic piece of writing, and one to linger long in the reader's memory. Mr. Brady tells us that "it is believed the account of the battle is sufficiently accurate to present a true picture of the most famous single-ship action ever fought upon the seas." All who have read the author's novels will know what to expect in his love passages. While sometimes going too far in their dramatic climaxes and appeals to the excited imagination, they are yet always tender and true, beautiful and noble. The book is gotten up in the usual style adopted by the publishers for Mr. Brady's books, and is well illustrated by George Gibbs, the well known artist.

The Story of Philadelphia. By LILLIAN IONE RHODES. New York: American Book Co. 85 cents.

There is no spot in our country of greater or more varied historic interest than Philadelphia, and therefore it offers an unusually rich field for study, one where the inspiration of a momentous past lends a peculiar charm. We speak not more as citizens of the City of Brotherly Love than of the greater nation there born, when we say special reasons abound why our people, the rising generation especially, should turn with reverence to Philadelphia and the record she has to show. It is with no spirit of boastfulness, but rather with a veneration which will be shared by every American, that we point to Independence Hall, name Franklin and think of other places and names which can hardly be forgotten. The present book, prepared particularly for children, gives a good, instructive, and, for its purpose, a very satisfactory history of Philadelphia, and will doubtless meet with a friendly welcome, as it enters upon its mission in much the same spirit that Penn came to his sylvan colony. There are numerous illustrations.

Jose. By ARMANDO-PALACIO VALDES. Edited, with introduction and notes, by F. J. A. DAVIDSON. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 80 cents.

The many students of Spanish will be pleased to find a modern Spanish novel by a modern Spanish writer, thoroughly arranged according to their wants. The text was chosen from an annotated edition of the first publication; the language is pure, perfect and fascinating, and as for the literature, it is often considered the literature of the day and language. Therefore, it is excellent material for learning Spanish. The book is chiefly adapted as a reader, but the intention of the editor is to make it one of instruction, for recitations, dictation and kindred branches of study. The introduction familiarizes the student with the author, who is one of the most modern (born in 1853), and his work, in order to convey some idea of the importance of both. The notes explain all serious difficulties, and with their aid and a grammar and dictionary the editor claims that students ought to be able to present a correct translation. This being the right step in the right direction, the study of Spanish will be decidedly stimulated, since students will feel assured that besides the few incomplete Spanish grammars there is something more to it; an opportunity to obtain an introduction to the beauties and charms of the literature of "Calderon," "Lope de Vega" and others, and the unsurpassable field of "Modern Spanish," which embraces literature, commercial Spanish and the Spanish of our new possessions, etc., as well.

Exercises for French Composition. By A. C. KIMBALL. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 12 cents.

These exercises are intended for students of the third year, or such as are advanced and have a fair knowledge of the French language. Prof. Kimball, who is a teacher of French in the Boston Girls' High School, has been using these exercises among his own students for some time, and has, therefore, practical experience in the best way to adopt them for practical class use. The 35 exercises in the book are graded and based upon Dumas' "La Tulipe Noire," and are so arranged as to identify the student with each.

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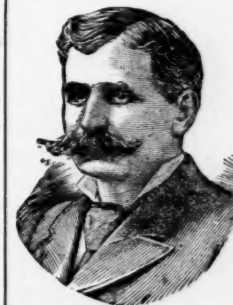
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IN THE LITERARY WORLD.

The announcements of D. Appleton & Co. are particularly strong in promising novels. They will follow Miss Fowler's "Farringtons" and Mr. Thomas's "Last Lady of Mulberry," with "Encircling Camps," a romance of the American Civil War, by J. A. Altsheiler; "Pine Knot," a story of Kentucky Life, by William E. Barton, author of "A Hero in Homespun"; and a new novel entitled "The Girl at the Halfway House," by E. Hough, author of "The Story of the Cowboy," which is described as a genuine epic of the West.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. have in press four farces by Mr. Howells which have never been reprinted from the magazines in which they appeared. They are entitled *Bride Roses*, *Indian Giver*, *The Smoking Car*, and *Room 45*. That they are bright, deliciously humorous, exquisitely refined, and charming in style is a matter of course since Mr. Howells wrote them. They will be brought out in little volumes of attractive typography, simply and artistically bound. "To Have and To Hold" has passed into its 200th thousand impression. It was published the last of February.

Henry Holt & Co. will publish within a month "English Political Philosophy," from Hobbes to Maine, by Professor William Graham, of Queen's College, Belfast, which is said to be a brilliant epitome of the works of the leading English writers on the subject; "Side Lights on English History," dealing with such topics as the personality of Queen Elizabeth, the execution of Mary Stuart, characteristic traits of Cromwell the return of Charles II., the Stuarts in exile, Queen Anne and the Marlboroughs, illustrated by 80 portraits, fac similes, caricatures, etc., edited by Ernest F. Henderson; and "The Leading Documents of English History," being texts of the most important legal and constitutional documents from the earliest Saxon code to the last treaty between the British and the Boers, edited by Dr. Guy Carleton Lee, of Johns Hopkins.

The first of Zola's series of novels, in which he aims to depict the great forces of human life and in particular to portray France as a nation, will be published at once by Doubleday, Page & Co. In translating "Fruitfulness" into English Mr. Vizetelly has, with the consent of the author, cut out many thousand words.

The Macmillan Company will publish within the next few weeks, several novels, some of which are sure to claim a wide attention on their appearance. Mr. James Lane Allen's "The Reign of Law, a story of the Kentucky Hemp Fields," for instance, and Mrs. Flora Annie Steel's "Voices in the Night, a Chromatic Fantasia," also will be welcome to those who have read her successful novel "On the Face of the Waters." "As the Light Led," by James Newton Baskett, is another book by this novelist of Missouri life. "The Banker and the Bear, a Story of a Corner in Lard," by H. K. Webster, is a stirring romantic love story which runs its course through some exciting episodes in the Chicago Chamber of Commerce.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- THE REDEMPTION OF DAVID CORSON. By Charles Frederic Goss. Pp. 418. Indianapolis, Ind. The Bowen-Merrill Co. \$1.50.
- BIRD HOMES. By A. Radcliff Dugmore. Pp. 183. Illustrated with photographs from nature. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$2.00 net.
- LOMEU UND JULIA AUF DEM DORFE. By Gottfried Keller, edited, with introduction and notes, by W. A. Adams. Pp. 118. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 30 cents.
- LOVE IN A CLOUD. A Comedy in Filigree. By Arlo Bates. Pp. 291. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.
- LAIRD & LEE'S VEST-POCKET STANDARD ENGLISH-SPANISH, SPANISH-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. By F. M. de Rivas. Pp. 374. Chicago: Laird & Lee. 25 cents.
- THE GARDEN OF EDEN. By Blanche Willis Howard. Pp. 444. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.
- THE MIND OF TENNYSON. His thoughts on God, Freedom, and Immortality. By E. Hershey Sneath. Pp. 189. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.
- UNLEAVENED BREAD. By Robert Grant. Pp. 431. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.
- THE WAYS OF MEN. By Eliot Gregory. Pp. 283. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

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